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MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1929

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HORREA ROMANA: ROMAN STOREHOUSES¹

Let us consider first of all the etymological side of our subject. The derivation of the word *horreum* is uncertain. It may come from *hordeum*, which means 'barley', and then a place for storing barley, or it may be derived from *ἀσπεῖον*, which originally meant 'fort' or 'guardhouse'. Walde² derives the word from *haurio*, and regards a *horreum* as a place from which one draws the necessary supplies of grain. The word is regularly neuter in gender, but we find a rare feminine form also³.

Since Italy was originally one large rural community, *horreum* developed as a rustic word, and came to mean, properly, a place in which the crops were placed after the harvest⁴. Finally, in a figurative sense, the word was applied to the Kingdom of God. *Horreum* was then the place where the good, who were called the wheat, were gathered after the harvest, death⁵. Beehives and ant-burrows were also called storehouses, *horrea*, which, in a way, they are⁶. In the literal sense, the word *horreum* had almost the same meaning

as *granarium*. Pliny the Elder does indeed make a distinction between the two words⁸. He describes the *horreum* as a structure made of brick, the walls of which were not less than three feet thick; it had no windows or openings for ventilation. The grain was let in from above. The *granarium*, he said, was made of wood and was set on pillars, with access for the air on every side and even from below. Columella draws the same distinction, and adds that *horrea* had arched roofs⁷. Other authors substantiate these statements⁸. Yet the two words are often used without any discrimination⁹. Even underground *granaria* existed; these were called *sepoli*¹⁰. We also get the term *pensilia horrea*, which indicates that *horrea* were sometimes set on piers¹¹. According to one author, *horrea* should be built some distance away from the farmhouse, to protect the farmhouse against fires¹².

The Romans thought that granaries should face to the north or to the northeast; in such granaries the grain would not heat quickly, but, being cooled by the wind, would keep for a long time. Other exposures, it was believed, produced the weevil and other little creatures that spoiled the grain¹³. There was no regularity in the construction of the granaries. Some had no openings at all, that the air might be kept out as much as possible; others had openings on all sides, to let the air in¹⁴. They were divided into *cellae*, each of which was used for storing some particular kind of grain or produce¹⁵. These were again subdivided into smaller compartments, called *lacus*, or *lacusculi*, which were used for separating the different grades of a certain grain or for storing the produce of each day separately¹⁶. Pliny the Elder recommends that the walls be built without lime, since lime was extremely

¹In this paper I have used, in the main, only primary sources. These sources are listed here for convenience (in some instances the abbreviations with whose help references will be made in the footnotes are given in angular brackets).

Acron, Scholium on Horace, Carmina 4.12.18 <Acron>; Alexander Severus, Aelius Lampridius 39.3; Ammianus Marcellinus 28.1.17; Apuleius, Metamorphoses 4.18. 3.2.

Caesar, De Bello Civili 3.12; Cato, De Agri Cultura 92 <Cato>; Chronologia, Anno 354 <Chronologia>; Cicero, De Finibus 2.84; De Lege Agraria 2.89; Pro Murena 18; In Verrem 3. 77; Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum <C.I.L.>, 3. 333, 4180, 6. 235, 236, 4. 237, 238, 338, 338.3, 339, 588, 682, 710, 1633, 3971, 4226, 4226 a, 4239, 4240, 6292, 6293, 7289, 8680, 8681, 8682, 8850, 9405, 9409, 9470, 9471, 9801, 9972, 9973, 10026, 8.1439, 6738, 7075, 10.1562, 7580, 14.20, 154, 160, 161, 172, 193, 303, 309, 363, 364, 408, 438, 2045, 3958, 4089.4, 4139, 4190, 15.4; Codex Iustinianus 4.24.9, 4.65.4, 10.26.1, 11.15 <Cod. Just.>; Codex Theodosianus 7.4.15, 11.14.1, 11.20.3, 12.6.16, 14.23, 14.26.1, 15.1.4, 15.1.12 <Cod. Th.>; Columella 1.6, 12. 2. 59; Curiosa, Regio XIII.

Digest 1.15.3.2, 9.3.5.3, 10.4.5, 14.2.4, 18.1.76, 19.2.55, 19.2.60.9, 20. 4.21.1, 31.32.3, 32.52.9, 53. 33. 7. 7, 33.9, 34.2, 34.4, 49.16.12.2; Dio Cassius 55.4, 60.11, 73.24.

Festus, Müller's edition, page 200, Lindsay's edition, page 370. Horace, Carmina 1.1.9, 3.16.26, 3.28.7, 4.12.18; Nonius Marcellus 110; Notitia Dignitatum <N. D.>, 4. 3, 4.15 (edited by Seeck), page 114 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1876); Notitia, Regio IV, Regio VIII, Second Appendix.

Johann Kasper Orelli, Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio <Orelli>, 895, 5583; Ovid, Tristia 5.6.39; Palladius 1.19; Pliny, Epistulae 8.18; Pliny, N. H. 13.89, 18.301-303 <Pliny>; Plutarch, Caesar 58, Gaius Gracchus 5-6; Porphyrio, Scholium on Horace, Carmina 4.12.18 <Porphyrio>.

Scholia on Juvenal 12.75; Seneca, Epistulae 45, 77, 114.26; Spartianus, Severus 23; Suetonius, Claudius 20, 24, 25, Nero 38; Tacitus, Agricola 10, Historiae 1.80; Tibullus 2.5.84.

Varro, De Re Rustica 1.57.2 <Varro>; Vegetius, Epitoma Rei Militaris 2.9; Vergil, Georgics 1. 49, 4.250; Vitruvius 6. 6; Vulgate, Matthew 13.30, Luke 13.17.

²A. Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch³ (Heidelberg, Winter, 1910).

³Nonius Marcellus 110. ⁴Vergil, Georgics 1.49 illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes; Tibullus 2. 5. 84 distendit spicis horrea plena Ceres; Horace, Carmina 1.1.9 illum <iuuat> si proprio condidit horreo quiddid de Libycis verritur areis, 3.16.25-27 contemptae dominus splendidiorei rei quam si quiddid arat impiger Apulus occultare melle diceret horreis; Cicero, De Lege Agraria 2. 89 Illi Capuam...cellam atque horreum Campani agri esse voluerunt.

⁵Vulgate, Matthew 13.30 Colligite primum zisania, et alligat ea in fasciculos ad comburendum, triticum autem congregat in horreum meum, Luke 3.17 congregabit triticum in horreum suum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili.

⁶Vergil, Georgics 4.250 complebunt...foros et floribus horrea texit; Ovid, Tristia 5.6.30-41 quam multae gracili terrena sub horrea ferre limite formicae grana reperta solent, tam me circumstant densorum turba malorum.

⁸Pliny 18.301-302 Horrea operose tripedali crassitudine, pariete latericio exaedificari iubent aliqui, praeterea superne impleri nec adflatus admittit aut fenestras habere ullas...Alibi contra suspendunt granaria lignea columnis et perflari undique malunt, atque etiam a fundo.

⁷Columella 1.6 horrea...quae sunt in plano custodiam recipiant humidarum rerum...sed granaria scalis adeantur...Horreum camera contextum.

⁸Varro 1.57 granaria sublimia; Vitruvius 6.6.4 granaria sublimata...disponantur.

⁹Varro 1.57.2 Quidam granaria habent sub terris, speluncas, quas vocant sinus <σπηνοί>; Columella 1.6 magis illam positionem pensilis horrei...probamus, 12.50 esse oportet pensile horreum, quo imponantur fructus, idque tabulatum simile esse debet granario et habere lacusculos tam multos quam postulat modus olivae ut separetur.

¹⁰Varro 1.57.2; see note 9. ¹¹Columella 12.50, 1.6; see note 9.

¹²Vitruvius 6. 6. 5 Horrea faenilia, farraria, pistrina extra villam facienda videntur, ut ab ignis periculo sint villae tutiores.

¹³Varro 1.57.1 at triticum condi oportet in granaria sublimia, quae perflentur vento ab exortu ac septentrionem regione; Columella 1.6...<granaria> modicis fenestellis aquilonibus inspiciuntur; Vitruvius 6.6.4 Granaria sublimata et ad septentrionem aut aquilonem spectantia disponantur, ita enim frumenta non poterunt cito conalescere, sed ab flatu refrigerata diu servantur. Namque ceterae regiones procreant curculionem et reliquas bestiolas quae frumentis solent nocere; Pliny 18.301 Alii, <iubent granaria> ab exortu tantum aestivo aut septentrione...construi...

¹⁴Pliny 18.301-302; see note 6.

¹⁵Palladius 1.19 Tunc divisas cellas grano cuique tribuimus.

¹⁶Columella 1. 6...Sed et lacubus distinguuntur granaria, ut separatim quaeque legumina ponantur, 12. 30 et...<oportet> habere lacusculos tam multos quam postulat modus olivae, ut separaretur et seorsum reponatur unicuique diei coactura.

injurious to grain on account of the moisture which it retained¹⁷. To guard against weevils and rodents the Romans made a mixture of the lees from olive-pressing, added a little chaff, allowed the whole to become soft, and mixed it thoroughly. Then they smeared the mixture over the ground or over the floor and the walls of the granary. Sometimes lime and sand were added. Afterwards, they moistened the mixture and allowed it to dry¹⁸. We even find some Romans hanging up a bramble frog by one of the hind legs at the threshold of the granary before housing the grain; the purpose was to protect the grain¹⁹.

Various commodities were stored in the *horrea*. Among them were wheat, hay, straw, chaff, and other sorts of forage²⁰. The *horrea* served also as storage places for oil and wine²¹. Some *horrea* were equipped with large jars, which, with their pointed ends, were stuck in the ground and were employed as depositories for the articles mentioned above²². Columella tells us that even farm implements were housed in these buildings²³.

Let us now turn to consider the storehouses (warehouses) at Rome, about which we have more knowledge. There were 290 *horrea* in the city²⁴. Orders for the building of the first public granaries were issued, in 123 B. C., by C. Gracchus²⁵. These were built, possibly, because of another law proposed by him and adopted, a law which had to do with the distribution of grain among the people²⁶. He also lowered the price of grain for the poor²⁷. These storehouses for the public grain were called the *Horrea Sempronia*²⁸. We do not know where they were located, but it has been conjectured that they were situated in Regio XIII, since

the emporium was there and numerous *horrea* were built in that region²⁹.

The *Horrea Sulpicia*³⁰ must have been quite important, since frequent mention is made of them. Later, they were known as the *Horrea Galbae*³¹, and, probably, *Horrea Galbes*³², *Horrea Galbana*³³, and *Horrea Galbiana*³⁴. They were situated in Regio XIII³⁵. It is possible that they were erected on land belonging to the Sulpician Tribe by one of the members of the family of Galba; at any rate the tomb of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, consul in 108 B. C., was near these granaries³⁶. The date of their erection is not known. However, we know that they existed before 13 B. C., when Horace, *Carmina*, Book 4, was published³⁷. The *Chronographia* for the year 354 says that Galba, who was Emperor in 68 A.D., established them³⁸, but this statement is inconsistent with Horace's words. Possibly Galba only improved them or built additions to them. Concerning the time when the name was changed from Sulpicia, the name of the tribe, to the cognomen Galba, a cognomen of one of the families of the tribe, we have no evidence, but we find the name *Horrea Galbiana* in an inscription of the time of Augustus³⁹. The only information we have concerning the size of the *Horrea Galbae* comes from a writer of the twelfth century⁴⁰; at the time considerable ruins of this warehouse remained. The circumference of the building was about three English miles; it contained 360 windows. Recent excavations have revealed that one of its sides was 1,500 meters long⁴¹. Although it may have been used originally as a general storehouse, at the end of the second century it was a storage house for wine, oil, and similar products⁴².

There were other *horrea* of whose existence we know, but we have no descriptive information regarding them. Among these are the *Horrea Aniciana* in Regio XIII⁴³, the *Horrea Seiana*⁴⁴, and the *Horrea Lolliana*⁴⁵. Of the *Horrea Lolliana* we have a large fragment from an old plan of Rome; this gives almost the complete outline of this warehouse, and contains

¹⁷Pliny 18.301 <iubent horrea> sine calce construi, quoniam sit frumento inimicissima.

¹⁸Cato 92 Frumento ne noceat curculio neu mures tangant, lutum de amurca facito, palearum paulum addito, sinito macerescant bene, et subigito bene; eo granarium totum obinito crasso luto. Postea conspergito amurca omne quod lutaveris. Ubi aruerit, eo frumentum refrigeratum condito; curculio non nocebit; Varro 1.57 . . . Parietes et solum opere tectorio marmorato loricandi: si minus, ex argilla mixta acere frumento et amurca, quod murem et vermem non patitur esse et grana facit solidiora ac firmiora; Columella 1.6 . . . horreum . . . cuius solum terrenum prius quam consterneretur perfossum et amurca recenti non salsa madefactum velut signinum opus paviculis condensatur. Tum inde cum exaruit, simili modo pavimenta testacea, quae pro aqua receperint amurcam mixtam calci et arenae, supersteruntur; et magna vi paviculis inculcantur, atque expoliuntur, omnesque parietum et soli iuncturae testaceis pulvinis fibulantur; Palladius 1.19 . . . amurca luto mixta parietes linuntur, cui aridi oleastri vel olivae folia pro paleis adiciuntur: quo tectorio siccato, rursus amurca respergitur, quae ubi siccata fuerit, frumenta condentur.

¹⁹Pliny 18.303 sunt qui rubeta rana in limine horrei pede e longioribus suspensa invehere iubent.

²⁰Varro 1.57.1 . . . triticum condi oportet in granaria sublimia . . . ; Columella 1.6 horrea, ut ex iis, quae sunt in plano, custodiam recipiant humidarum rerum tanquam vini aut olei venalium; siccae actem res congerantur tabulatis ut frumentum, faenum, frondes, paleae, ceteraque pabula; Vulgate, Matthew 13.30, Luke 3.17 (see note 4); Columella 12.2 horreum siccum atque aridum frumentis habetur idoneum: quod frigidum, commodissime vinum custodit (see note 3).

²¹Horace, *Carmina* 3.28.7-8 parvis deripere horreo cessantem Bibuli consilia amphoram; Columella 1.6, 12.2 (see note 20); Seneca, *Epistulae* 114.26 aspice . . . plena multorum saeculorum vindemiis horrea; Digest 33.7.1.7 legaverat . . . horreum vinarium cum vino et vasis.

²²Digest 18.76 dolia in horreis defossa . . .

²³Columella 1.6.7 fit . . . horreum quo conferatur omne rusticum instrumentum.

²⁴Notitia, Second Appendix, 22: horrea CCXC.

²⁵Plutarch, C. Gracchus 6. ²⁶Plutarch, C. Gracchus 5.1; Festus, *Sempronia horrea* qui locus dicitur, in eo fuerunt lege Gracchi, ad custodiam frumenti publici.

²⁷Plutarch, C. Gracchus 5.1.

²⁸Festus (see note 26); C. I. L. 14.4190 ad horrea Sempronia . . .

²⁹Curiosa, Regio XIII: continet horrea Galbes et Aniciana, . . . horrea XXXV.

³⁰Horace, *Carmina* 4.12.17-18 nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum qui nunc Sulpiciis ad cubat horreis . . .

³¹Acron: Sulpicia horrea dicebantur Galbae ubi nunc vinum et oleum condi consueverunt; Prophyron: Sulpicii Galbae horrea dicit; hodieque autem Galbae horrea vino et oleo et similibus aliis referta sunt; C. I. L. 6.8689 Horreorum Er Galbae . . . ; C. I. L. 6.9801 Piscatrix De horreis Galbae . . .

³²Curiosa, Regio XIII: continet horrea Galbes et Aniciana.

³³C. I. L. 6.338.3 <sacrum> quod factum est sodalic horr Galban cohort; N. D.: curator horreorum Galbianorum . . .

³⁴C. I. L. 6.236.4 horreorum Galbianorum . . . Compare also Ephemeris Epigraphica 4.723 a: vilicus horreorum Galbianorum.

³⁵See note 32.

³⁶Compare Notizie Degli Scavi Di Antichità, 1885, 527: Ser Sulpicius Ser f Galba cos ped. quadr XXX.

³⁷Horace, *Carmina* 4.12.18. See note 30.

³⁸Chronologia: domum suam deposuit et horrea Galbae instituit.

³⁹See Ephemeris Epigraphica 4.723 a: Bonae Deae Galbillae Zmaragdus Caesaris Aug vilicus horreorum Galbianorum coh trium D.D. cum fenia onesime.

⁴⁰Benjamin De Tudele, who, in the twelfth century, wrote in Hebrew about his travels.

⁴¹See Notizie Degli Scavi Di Antichità, 1885, 527.

⁴²Acron and Prophyron (see note 31).

⁴³Curiosa, Regio XIII: continet horrea Aniciana.

⁴⁴C. I. L. 6.238 genio horreor Seian L. Volusius. Acindynus P. et L. Volusius Acindynus f signum. Aesculapi sua p.d.d.; C. I. L. 6.9471 C. Iulius Hermes conductor horreorum Seianorum lustru tertii sua p.d.d.

⁴⁵C. I. L. 6.4226 Dis manibus sac calamus Ti Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici Pamphilianus vilicus ex horreis Lollianis ex. d.d.d.s.d.d.; C. I. L. 6.4239 eros Caesaris horr Lollianis.

all the letters of the name⁴⁶. There is another group of public granaries named after Emperors or members of the imperial family. They are the Horrea Caesaris⁴⁷, the Horrea Nervae⁴⁸, the Horrea Germanicana⁴⁹, and the Horrea Agrippiana in Regio VIII⁵⁰ (this Regio contains all the Fora), and the Horrea Agrippiana⁵¹. Certain *horrea* which bore the names of private citizens were, perhaps, later incorporated in the imperial domain; this inference has been made because we find government slaves (*servi publici*) attached to them. We find among these the Horrea Lolliana⁵², Horrea Petroniana⁵³, Horrea Postumiana⁵⁴, Horrea Volusiana⁵⁵, and Horrea Leoniana⁵⁶.

Some storehouses got their names from the merchandise which they contained. An example is the Horrea Chartaria, which was situated in Regio IV⁵⁷. Here paper was stored, possibly to avoid scarcity such as had existed at Rome in the time of Tiberius⁵⁸. Then there was the Horrea Candelaria, of which there are fragments from an old plan⁵⁹. To this class belonged the Horrea Piperataria, which was built by Domitian; later its site was used for the Basilica of Constantine and the Forum of Vespasian⁶⁰. This may have been the storehouse for the products from Egypt and Arabia which was destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus⁶¹.

All the *horrea* in which only grain was stored for public consumption and which were used as a source of security against times of scarcity the Codex Theodosianus designates as the *horrea fiscalia*⁶². The name *horrea penuaria* was applied to those which contained commodities necessary for life, whether of man or of

beast⁶³. We find stored there oil, fish-sauce, souse, honey, wine, vinegar, grains, wood, charcoal, millstones, incense, wax, perfumes, writing paper, vases, jars, legumes, strong boxes, baskets⁶⁴.

There were also public storehouses at Rome in which private individuals could store their belongings. Alexander Severus built a public storehouse in each Regio of the city, to which anyone who had no storehouse of his own might take his property⁶⁵. Here were stored silverware⁶⁶ and other valuables⁶⁷. Such *horrea* were also depositories for surplus money and for legal papers or documents⁶⁸. Merchants could put their supplies in these *horrea* until they needed them⁶⁹. These *horrea* were divided and subdivided, so that one could hire only so much space as one wanted, a whole room (*cella*), a closet (*armarium*), or only a chest or strong box (*arca*, *arcula*, *locus*, *loculus*)⁷⁰. These *horrea* were protected by guards, as well as by lock and key⁷¹. Yet, in spite of this protection, robberies in the *horrea* were frequent⁷². The reason is obvious. Here were accumulated the greatest riches; here people kept the most valuable part of their possessions⁷³. There was another serious danger, namely, that of fires⁷⁴. There even was a law forbidding any building to be erected within a hundred feet of *horrea* on account of the fire hazard⁷⁵. Nero, because he wanted space for his Golden House, used engines of war to demolish *horrea*, since their walls were of stone, and then set them afire⁷⁶.

⁴⁶Digest 33.9.3.11 Nec frumenti, nec leguminum thecae, arculae forte, vel sportae, vel si qua alia sunt, quae horrei penuarii, vel cellae penuariae instruendae gratia habentur, non continebuntur: sed ea sola continentur sine quibus penus haberi non recte potest. 33.9.3 Quintus Mucius scribit libro secundo iuris civilis, penu legata contineri quae esui potuitque sunt. Idem Sabinus libris ad Vitellum scribit: quae harum, inquit, patrifamiliae, uxoris, liberorumve eius, vel familiae, quae circa eos esse solent; item iumentorum, quae dominici usus causa parata sunt.

⁴⁷Digest 33.9. with the title De Penu Legata, gives the following products: oleum, garum, muria, mel, vini loco, acetum, frumentum, ligna, carbones, mola, thus, cera, unguentum, chartas epistolares, vasa, dolia, legumina, arculae forte, sportae.

⁴⁸Alexander Severus, Aelius Lampadius 39.3 horrea in omnibus regionibus publica fecit, ad quae conferrent bona ii qui privatas custodias non haberent.

⁴⁹Digest 34.2.32.4 . . . argentum, quod in domo, vel intra horreum usibus eius fuit, legato cedat.

⁵⁰Digest 1.15.4.2 in horreis . . . ubi homines pretiosissimam partem fortunarum suarum reponunt.

⁵¹Cod. Just. 4.24.9 Cum igitur asseveras, in horreis pignora deposita, consequens est, secundum ius perpetuum, pignorum debitori preuentibus, si tamen in horreis quibus et alii solebant publice uti, res depositae sint, personalem actionem debiti repescendi causam integram te habere; Cod. Th. 11.20.3 . . . possessiones, . . . ex horreis; Digest 20.4.21.1 Negotiatori marmorum creditor sub pignore lapidum, quorum pretia venditores ex pecunia creditoris acceperant, numeravit. Idem debitor conductor horreorum Caesaris fuit.

⁵²Digest 10.4.5 Si quis merces quas exvehendas conduxit, in horreo ponit, cum conductore ad exhibendum agi potest.

⁵³Digest 1.15.4.2 . . . cum vel cella effringitur vel armarium vel arca, custodes plerumque puniuntur, 32.52.9 . . . armariis et loculis claustra et claves cedunt, 32.53 . . . argento legato constat arculas ad legatarium non pertinere.

⁵⁴Digest 32.52.9; see note 70.

⁵⁵Cod. Just. 4.65.4 . . . horreorum effractorum; Digest 1.15.3.2 Effracturae sunt plerumque in insulis, in horreisque ubi homines pretiosissimam partem fortunarum suarum reponunt, 19.2.60.9 Rerum custodiam, quam horrearius conductoribus praestare debet, locatorem totorum horreorum horreario praestare non debere puto, nisi si in locando aliter convenierit, 19.2.55 Dominus horreorum effractus et compilatis horreis non tenetur.

⁵⁶See note 72.

⁵⁷Dio Cassius 73. 24; Cod. Th. 15.1.4 omnis intra centum pedes vicinitas, quantum ad horrea pertinet, arceatur, ac si quid constructum fuerit, diruatur, quoniam experimentis nuperrimis palam factum est aedificiorum, quae horreis adhaerebant, incendiis fiscoles copias laborasse.

⁵⁸Cod. Th. 15.1.4; see note 74.

⁵⁹Suetonius, Nero 38 . . . et quaedam horrea circa Domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint, quod saxo muro constructa erant.

⁴⁶See Jordan, *Formae Urbis Reliquiae*, Tab. XI. 51.

⁴⁷C. I. L. 6.682 Silvano SS maior et diadumenus Caes N. ser et crescent Aug L.d.d. hor de h.c.; C. I. L. 6.4240 Stephanus Caesar. horr.; Digest 20.4.21.1 Idem debitor conductor horreorum Caesaris fuit.

⁴⁸C. I. L. 6.8681 M. Cocceius Hilarus officis suis hic in horreis Nervae amorem habuit maximum.

⁴⁹Notitia, Regio VIII: Forum Romanum vel magnam continet, Forum Caesaris, Augusti, Nervae, Traiani . . . horrea Germanicana et Agrippiana.

⁵⁰C. I. L. 6.9072 C. Iulius Lucifer vestiarius de horreis Agrippianis; C. I. L. 6.10026 . . . de horreis Agrippia. See note 49.

⁵¹C. I. L. 14.3958 . . . de horreis Agrippianis.

⁵²C. I. L. 6.1226 Dis manibus sac calamus Ti. Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici Pamphilianus vilicus ex horreis Lollianis; C. I. L. 6.4230 eros Caesaris horr Lollianis; C. I. L. 6.4226 a; Calamus Ti. Claudii Caesaris vilicus ex horreis Lollianis Pamphilianus.

⁵³C. I. L. 6.3971 Philadelphus Neronis Caesar ex horreis Petronian Dec.

⁵⁴C. I. L. 14.4089.4 horreis Postumianis Caesaris N. A.; C. I. L. 15.4 horreis Postumianis Caesaris N. A.

⁵⁵C. I. L. 6.7280, 6.9073 de hor Volusianis.

⁵⁶C. I. L. 6.237 genio horreorum Leonianorum et Herculi Salutari Luci Scanti Gemelli Musaeus libertus.

⁵⁷Notitia, Regio IV: continet horrea chartaria.

⁵⁸Pliny 13.89 Sterilitatem sentit hoc quoque factumque iam Tiberio princeps inopia chartae ut e senatu darentur arbitri dispensandae.

⁵⁹Jordan, *Formae Urbis Reliquiae*, Tab. XII. 53. The words *horrea candelaria* are on the fragment.

⁶⁰See Becker, *Handbuch* 1.443: Domitianus: horrea piperataria, ubi modo est Basilica Constantiniana et Forum Vespasiani.

⁶¹See Dio Cassius 73.24.

⁶²Cod. Th. 15.1.12 Horrea fiscalia apud urbem Romam nec non etiam Portus in usus translata privatos cognovimus. Haec ad pristinum inferioribus horreorum frumenta condantur, quae natura loci et umore vitiantur. Annonas quoque horreis antiquitus deputatas hos redhibere compelles qui eas in damna publica ausi sunt occupare, quarum substantiam enthecae populi Romani proficere praecipies, 12.6.16 Frumenta, quae horreis inferuntur, pro inlatione modo ilico apocharum cautionibus annotentur. Non autem oportet in horreis fiscalibus nisi fiscalia frumenta constitui; Orelli 5583 Beatitude D. N. Constantis victoris ac triumphatoris semper Aug provisio copia quae horreis deerat posteaquam condendis horrea deesse coeperunt. Per se coepit in securitatem perpetem rei annonariae dedicavit.

To get a good conception of the design of the *horrea*, let us examine the fragment from an old plan of Rome, which contains almost the complete plan of the Horrea Lolliana. We see that it was a large rectangular building with a portico on one side at least, if not on two. The portico was elevated and reached by means of steps. If the plan is accurate, there were two flights with three steps each. The interior of the building was divided into large rectangular courts around which also there were porticoes. Around the four walls of these courts were built other walls extending at right angles, forming rooms or compartments (*cellae*). The entrance to the *cellae* was from the side toward the court; one could go from one *cella* to another only by going out from one *cella* into the court and entering another *cella* from the court. Some of the larger compartments had two entrances opposite each other. One opened into the court, the other into the street. These *cellae* might be used as shops and might be rented to merchants. Such was, possibly, the connection Nais had with the Horrea Galbae⁷⁷, Lucifer with the Horrea Agrippiana⁷⁸, Aquilius Pelorus with the Horrea Volusiana⁷⁹, and M. Livius Hermeros with the Horrea Agrippiniana⁸⁰. The entrance or exit from the courts was at each corner. There was also a passageway from one court to the other inside the building. This plan seems to be typical of all *horrea*. It is further substantiated by an old drawing; though this drawing has disappeared, copies of it are extant⁸¹.

The *horrea* were built of stone⁸². They were huge, as may be seen from the dimensions given above of the Horrea Galbae. It is, in fact, beyond our power to conceive of the vast capacity of the *horrea* at Rome. Spartianus says that Septimius Severus, at his death, left in the storehouses a surplus of grain to the amount of seven years' tribute, or enough to distribute 75,000 pecks a day, and so much oil that for five years there was plenty for the use not only of the city of Rome but also of as much of Italy as was in need of it⁸³.

Let us look now at the administration of the *horrea*. The Horrea Annonae, which contained grain for public consumption, were under the Prefect of the City⁸⁴. He had to see that everything was being managed properly. It devolved upon him to investigate whether the measurer of the grain was honest, the guards were on duty, and the slaves were faithful. He had to keep the buildings in repair, and especially

to see that the roofs were in good condition. He had to inspect the grain to see that it did not spoil, through negligence of any sort. It was his duty to put an end to all corrupt practices or abuses existing among the personnel of the *horrea*. He also judged and condemned any of the employees who had not discharged his duty properly⁸⁵.

Each group of *horrea* was in charge of one person who was known by various names (*horrearius*⁸⁶, *comes horreorum*⁸⁷, *vilicus*⁸⁸). Each storehouse also had its guards⁸⁹. There were persons whose duty was to measure and estimate the quantities of grain going out and coming in (*mensores*)⁹⁰. Other employees were *actores*⁹¹ and *dispensatores a frumento*⁹². The personnel of the Horrea Galbae was divided into three cohorts⁹³.

The second kind of *horrea*, which, like those built by Alexander Severus, people could rent to store their possessions therein, were administered by a *horrearius* and were protected by guards who were of servile condition⁹⁴. Those who rented storehouses, in whole or in part, were called *conductores*⁹⁵. If anything was stolen

⁷⁷Cod. Just. 10.26.1-3 Ad Volusianum P. U.: Omnia, quae in horreis habentur, expendi volumus; ita ut non prius ad id frumentum extendatur expensio, quod sub praefectura tua urbis horreis infertur, quam vetera condita fuerint erogata. Et si forte vetustate species ita corrupta est ut per semet erogari sine querela non possit, eidem ex nova portione misceatur, cuius adiectione corruptio velata damnum fisco non faciat. Ad istud autem negotium arbitrati ac iudicio tuo nobilis, prudens, fidelis, optime sibi conscius pro integritatis meritis apponatur custos ac mensor, qui vel frumenta modio metiatur, vel iustis aestimationibus colligat, quanta habeantur in condito. Cum ad quamlibet urbem mansionem accesseris, protinus horrea te inspicere volumus, ut devotissimis militibus defloratae et incorruptae species praebentur. Nam si per incuriam officii gravitatis tuae, sartorum tectorum neglecta procuratore, aliqua pluvius infecta perierint, ad damnum tuum referentur. Nulli posthac horreaticas species contingendi copia praebatur. Si vero quisquam temerario horreorum existerit qui sibi ex praedictis aliquid audeat usurpare, hanc poenam sciat nostro arbitrio definitam, ut, deportationis poenae subiectus, totius substantiae cogatur subire iacturam; Cod. Th. 11.14.1 (see Cod. Just. 10.26.1 above: both Codexes use the same words).

⁷⁸Digest 9.3.5.3 Si horrearius aliquid deiecit vel effuderit, aut conductor apothecae vel qui in hoc dumtaxat conductum locum habebat, ut ibi opus faciat, vel doceat, in factum actioni locus est; C. I. L. 6.235 Pro salute dominorum genio horreorum Saturninus et successus horrearii donum dederunt; C. I. L. 6.682 (see note 47); C. I. L. 6.4239 eros Caesaris horreii Lolliani; C. I. L. 6.4240 Stephanus Caesar. Horre.; C. I. L. 6.8682 Zosimus Caesaris N. Ser. Horrearii; C. I. L. 6.9465 Amus Horrearius Agrippi.

⁷⁹Cod. Just. 11.15.1 Quicumque ex mancipiis comitis horreorum dignitatem et officium fuerit assecutus.

⁸⁰See Ephemeris Epigraphica 4.723 a: Bonae Deae Galbiliae Zmaragdus Caesaris Aug vilicus horreorum Galbianorum; C. I. L. 6.4226 Dis manibus sac. calamus Ti. Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici Pamphilianus vilicus ex horreis Lolliani; C. I. L. 6.4226 a vilicus ex horreis Lolliani.

⁸¹C. I. L. 6.9470 Eutychus custos horrei; Cod. Just. 10.26.1 Ad istud autem negotium arbitrati ac iudicio tuo nobilis, prudens, fidelis, optime sibi conscius pro integritatis meritis apponatur custos; Cod. Th. 11.14.1 (the text is identical with that of Cod. Just. 10.26.1, given above).

⁸²Cod. Just. 10.26.1 mensor qui vel frumenta modio metiatur, vel iustis aestimationibus colligat, quanta habeantur in condito; Cod. Th. 11.14.1 (identical with Cod. Just. 10.26.1, above, note 89).

⁸³C. I. L. 6.8850 D. M. Nitiro Domitiae Aug actori a frumento vix ann XXXV fecit Lampyrus Domitiae Aug Lib B. M.

⁸⁴C. I. L. 3.333... Dispens frumentum; Orelli 895 Oceanus ser verna dispen a frumento.

⁸⁵See Ephemeris Epigraphica 4.723 a: Bonae Deae Galbiliae Zmaragdus Caesaris Aug vilicus horreorum Galbianorum cohort d.d. cum Penia Onesime; C. I. L. 6.338 Numini domus Aug sacrum Herculi salutari quod factum est sodalic horreii cohort...; C. I. L. 6.339 Herculi sacrum Sextus Aufidius Threptus M. Octavius Carpus cur collegi Herculis salutari chortis primae sagariorum d.d.s.d.; C. I. L. 6.588 Silvano sac. anteros Caes horrearii chortis III d.d. a.l.; C. I. L. 6.710 Soli sanctissimo sacrum Ti Claudius Felix et Claudia Helpis et Ti. Claudius Alypus fil eorum votum soluerunt libens merito Calbienses de coh III; Mittheilungen, 1886, 42; Herculi domus Augusti sacrum ex collatione horriorum chortis II maioris ad Diadumeni. C. N. Ser et T. Flavii crescentis et operari Galbeses curante Hermete C. mundic Helpisti ser dedicatum K. Iunis.

⁸⁶Digest 1.15.3.2 <Antoninus> ait enim posse eum, horreis effractis, questionem habere de servis custodibus, licet in illis ipsius imperatoris portio esset, 9.3.5.3 (see note 86).

⁸⁷Digest 9.3.5.3 (see note 86), 19.2.60 (see note 72); C. I. L. 6.9471 (see note 44).

⁷⁷C. I. L. 6.9801 Aurelia C. L. Nais piscatrix de horreis Galbae.

⁷⁸C. I. L. 6.9972 C. Iulius Lucifer vestiarius de horreis Agrippinianis.

⁷⁹C. I. L. 6.9973 T. Aquilio T. L. Peloro vestiario de hor Volusianis.

⁸⁰C. I. L. 14.3958 Dis manibus sac M. Livio Hermeroti vestiario de horreis Agrippinianis.

⁸¹In Mittheilungen, 1896, 213 there is a reproduction of the original. <For a plan of the Horrea Galbana see S. B. Platner, The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, 418 (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1911). C. K.>.

⁸²See note 76.
⁸³Spartianus, Severus 23.7 Moriens septem annorum canonem, ita ut cotidiana septuaginta quinque milia modium expendi possent, reliquit, olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non solum urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiae, quae oleo eget, sufficeret.

⁸⁴Cod. Just. 10.26.1... sub praefectura tua urbis horreis infertur; Cod. Th. 13.1.12 Ad Symmachum. Annonas quoque horreis antiquitus deputatas hos reddere compelles, 11.14.1... quod sub praefectura tua urbis horreis infertur; N. D.: Sub dispositione viri illustri praefecti urbis habentur administrationes infrascriptae: praefectus annonae, curator horreorum Galbanorum.

from the *horrea*, the *horrearius* or guards had to stand responsible for it. Usually the guard was punished, since he was a slave. Although he was partly the property of the Emperor, he had to pay the penalty⁹⁶.

There were also *horrea* owned by private individuals⁹⁷. Concerning these we do not have much information. We know of *horrea* belonging to Hipparchus⁹⁸, Volusius⁹⁹, and M. Furius Camillus¹⁰⁰. These were, perhaps, more like our 'galleries', since we find that books¹⁰¹, statuary, and works of art were kept in them¹⁰². Pliny tells us of a man who adorned a vast pleasure ground or garden with a quantity of antique statuary on the very day he purchased it, so numerous were the exquisite works of art which lay neglected in his warehouse¹⁰³. Besides, men kept their other valuable possessions in these *horrea*¹⁰⁴; large amounts of money, too, were put in them for safe keeping¹⁰⁵. The persons in charge of them were called *horrearii*¹⁰⁶ and *custodes*¹⁰⁷ (these were of servile condition).

Let us now consider other cities in which we should expect to find many *horrea*. Since almost all the grain used by the Romans was imported, it had to come by sea¹⁰⁸. To Ostia came large ships filled with grain. There it was unloaded and put in *horrea* to be transported later to Rome, overland, or up the Tiber in barges¹⁰⁹. Yet, in spite of all this commerce, Ostia had no real harbor until the time of Claudius¹¹⁰. Ships had no safe landing-place there and brought their cargoes to land only at great risk¹¹¹. Caesar had considered the project of constructing at Ostia a harbor that was safe, but he had to give it up¹¹². Claudius satisfied this long-felt need¹¹³. Later, Trajan con-

structed another harbor beside the one built by Claudius¹¹⁴. In the Codex Theodosianus we find the term *horrea Portuensis* applied to the storehouses at Ostia¹¹⁵. They were under the administration of a quaestor, down to the time of Claudius¹¹⁶; then they were under the *procuratores annonae*¹¹⁷. Each warehouse was in charge of a *patronus*, who held his office only for a year. He had to keep strict account of the supplies going in and coming out. He had to take precautions against thievery and to assume responsibility in the matter. In order to secure reappointment, he had to render an account of his administration which showed capability and good management¹¹⁸. Then there were those who measured or estimated the supplies of grain as they went in and out (*mensores*)¹¹⁹. All these banded together into a 'union'. The chief or head of the organization appointed one of their number every five years to see that none of the members practised any fraud in the exercise of his duties¹²⁰. Claudius also stationed a cohort of *vigiles* at Ostia to guard against fires which might break out among the numerous *horrea*¹²¹.

Puteoli was another very important port to which grain was brought, but we have little direct evidence concerning the *horrea* there. Cicero tells us of their existence in his time¹²². We know also that the administration at Puteoli was similar to that at Ostia, and that the *horrea* at Puteoli and Ostia had many things in common, as for instance a *dispensator a frumento*¹²³. At Puteoli, as at Ostia, Claudius stationed a cohort of *vigiles*, possibly to protect the *horrea* against fires¹²⁴. When the large fleets of ships bringing grain from Alex-

¹¹⁴C. I. L. 14.408. . . Portus Aug et Traiani; Scholium on Juvenal 12.75 Portum Augusti dicit, sive Traiani.

¹¹⁵Cod. Th. 14. 23 Patronos horreorum Portuensium singulis tantum annis praeesse decernimus.

¹¹⁶Cicero, Pro Murena 18. . . Habuit hic lege Titia provinciam tacitam et quietam, tu illam, cui, cum quaestores sortiuntur, etiam adclamari solet, Ostiensem, non tam gratiosam et illustrem quam negotiosam et molestam; Suetonius, Claudius 24.2 Collegio quaestorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorum munus iniunxit detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia curam aerari Saturni reddidit; Dio Cassius 55.4.

¹¹⁷C. I. L. 6.1633 proc. ad annon Ostiae; C. I. L. 8.1439 proc annonae Augg. N N Ostiensium; C. I. L. 10.7580 proc ad annonam Ostis; C. I. L. 14.154 procurat annon Augg N N P C Ost; C. I. L. 14.160 proc annonae Aug Ostis; C. I. L. 14.161 proc Ostiae ad annon proc Lucanae corpus mercatorum frumentarium; C. I. L. 14.172 proc annon; C. I. L. 14.193 proc ann.; C. I. L. 14.2045 procuratori annonae Ostiensis.

¹¹⁸Cod. Th. 14.23 Patronos horreorum Portuensium singulis tantum annis praeesse decernimus omni subreptione cessante, ne unquam veteris erogationis ratiocinium novis commestibus inseratur. Nec ultra tempus constitutum quispiam sibi administrationem horreorum Portuensium fraudulentur usurpet, nisi prioris anni ratiocinio ante deducto in alium annum quasi fidelis iam et idoneus subrogetur.

¹¹⁹C. I. L. 14.172 Q. Petronio Q. F. Meliori proc annon. . . corpus mesor frum Ost. 14.303. . . corporum mensorum frumentarium, 14.309 Calpurnius Chius Sevir Aug. et Quinquennialis idem quinq corporis mensor frumentarii Ostiens et curat bis idem codicem curat Ostis et III honor idem quinquennialis collegi Silvani Aug maioris quod est Hilarionis functus sacramenti idem magistro ad Marte Picanum Aug idem in collegio dendrofor; C. I. L. 14.363 corpor curator. . . mensor frum Ostiensiv; C. I. L. 14.364. . . Ostiensium corpora mensorum Ost. . . corp; C. I. L. 14.438 C. Volitidius C. P. Pal Prisco fratri corpora mensorum frumentarii Ost; C. I. L. 14.4130 frument ornam abascent.

¹²⁰See note 110.

¹²¹Suetonius, Claudius 25.2 Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad accendos incendiurum casus collocavit; Tacitus, Historiae 1.80 septuaginta decuriam cohortem e colonia Ostiensis in urbem acciri Otho iusserat.

¹²²Cicero, De Finibus 2.84 Num igitur utiliore tibi hunc Triarium putas esse posse quam si tua sint Puteolis granaria?

¹²³C. I. L. 10.1562 pro salute Imp Caesaris Titi Aelii Hadriani Antonini Aug Pii P. P. et M. Alli Aurelii Caesaris N genio coloniae Puteolanorum Chrysanthus Aug disp a frumento Puteolis et Ostis l. d. decurionum permissa.

¹²⁴Suetonius, Claudius 25 (see note 121).

⁹⁶Digest 19.2.60.9 (see note 72), 19.2.55 Dominus horreorum effractus et compilatis horreis non tenetur, nisi custodiam eorum receipt. Servi tamen eius, cum quo contractum est, propter aedificiorum notitiam in questionem peti possunt, 1.15.3.2 effractus fiunt plerumque in inanis in horreisque. Cum vel cella effringitur, vel armarium, vel arca, et custodes plerumque puniuntur, et divus Antoninus Erycio Claro rescriptit: ait enim posse eum, horreis effractus, questionem habere de servis custodibus, licet in illis ipsius imperatoris portio esset.

⁹⁷Digest 31.32.3 quidquid in horreo meo erit. See notes 98-107.

⁹⁸C. I. L. 6.6292 Felix horrearius Hipparchi vicarius; C. I. L. 6.6293 Protogenes horrearius Hipparchi vicarius.

⁹⁹C. I. L. 6.7289 (see note 55).

¹⁰⁰C. I. L. 6.9469 Thalamus M. Furi Camilli ab horr.

¹⁰¹Seneca, Epistulae 45 "Vellem" inquis "magis consilium mihi quam libros dares". Ego vero quocumque habeo mittere paratus sum et totum horreum excutere.

¹⁰²Pliny, Epistulae 8.18.11 Fuit enim tam copiosus ut amplissimos hortos eodem, quo emerat, die instruxerit plurimis et antiquissimis status: tantum illi pulcherrimorum operum in horreis, quae neglegebantur.

¹⁰³See note 102.

¹⁰⁴Apuleius, Metamorphoses 5.2. . . altrinsecus aedium horrea sublimi fabrica perfecta magnisque congesta gazis conspicit, nec est quicquam quod ibi non est.

¹⁰⁵Apuleius, Metamorphoses 4.18 demonstrat horreum ubi vespera sagaciter argentum copiosum recondi viderat.

¹⁰⁶See notes 98, 99, and 100.

¹⁰⁷Apuleius, Metamorphoses 5.2 <horreum> nullo custode. . . munitur. See note 105.

¹⁰⁸Dio Cassius 60, 11.

¹⁰⁹Digest 14.2.4 Navis onustae levandae causa, quia intrare flumen, vel portum non poterat cum onere, si quaedam merces in scapham traiecit sunt, ne aut extra flumen periclitetur aut in ipso ostio, vel portu, eaque scapha submersa est, ratio haberi debet inter eos qui in nave merces salvae habent cum his qui in scapha perdidit; C. I. L. 14.20 C. Pomponius Turpilianus Proc. ad oleum in Galbae Ostiae portus utriusque d. d. See note 108.

¹¹⁰Suetonius, Claudius 20.1 Opera magna. . . perfecit: portum Ostiensem. . . a Divo Iulio saepius destinatum ac propter difficultatem omisium.

¹¹¹Plutarch, Caesar 58.

¹¹²See note 110. Compare Plutarch, Caesar 58.

¹¹³Suetonius, Claudius 20 (see note 110); Dio Cassius 60.11.

andria to Puteoli were sighted, all the rabble of the city rushed down to the wharves¹²⁵.

Since the source of the food-supply of Rome was in Sicily, Egypt, and other provinces in Africa, a large number of *horrea* existed in these countries, to store the grain for shipment. Cicero gives evidence concerning those in Sicily¹²⁶. At Carthage were *horrea* in which were housed the grain supplies collected from Africa¹²⁷. At Rusicade, the modern Philippeville, was the center for those of Numidia¹²⁸. In Egypt, Alexandria was the chief point of concentration and of the location of the granaries¹²⁹. We know of the existence of *horrea* in Britain¹³⁰, in Pannonia¹³¹, and in Lycia¹³². After Constantinople was established, *horrea* were built there also; the office of *comes horreorum* originated there¹³³.

There was another class of buildings used for storage outside of Rome, namely the military storehouses. Here were deposited provisions for the maintenance of the army in the field¹³⁴. In them were hoarded the supplies received from Italy, or the food secured through the levies made on the populace in the neighborhood where the army was campaigning¹³⁵. These military depots were used mostly for the provisions obtained through the requisitions made under the authority of the governor of the region¹³⁶. The granaries were erected as near the camp as possible¹³⁷. The administration of the military *horrea* was under the *praefectus legionis*¹³⁸; the tribunes, who had charge of the foraging parties, determined whether the grain was fit for use or not. The tribunes also repressed fraud among the *mensores*¹³⁹.

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¹²⁵Seneca, *Epistulae* 77.1-3. Subito nobis hodie Alexandrinae naves apparuerunt. . . . Gratus illarum Campaniae aspectus est; omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit. . . . In hoc omnium discursu properantium ad litus magnam ex pigritia mea sensi voluptatem.

¹²⁶Cicero, *In Verrem Actio* 2, 3.178-179. . . . in tuis horreis omne frumentum Siciliae per triennium atque omnis fructus agri decumari fuisse. Cum enim a civitatibus pro frumento pecuniam exigebas unde erat frumentum quod Romam mitteres.

¹²⁷Ammianus Marcellinus 28.1.17 cum Africam pro consule regeret, Carthaginiensibus victus inopia iam lassatis, ex horreis Romano populo destinatis frumentum dedit.

¹²⁸C. I. L. 8.7975 Aug. horrea ad utilitatem Populi Romani.

¹²⁹Cod. Th. 14.26.1 In aestimatione frumenti, quod ad civitatem Alexandrinam convehitur, quidquid de crithologiae et zygostasii munere et pro nauclerorum tuenda substantia eminentia tua disposuit, roboramus.

¹³⁰Tacitus, *Agricola* 19.4 clausis horreis.

¹³¹C. I. L. 3.4180 Beatitudine D. N. Constantis Victoria ac triumphatoris semper Aug. provisa copia quae horreis deerat postea quam condendis horrea deesse coeperunt. . . .

¹³²C. I. L. 8.6738 Caria Paula Va XXX h.s.e.

¹³³Cod. Just. 11.15 (see note 87).

¹³⁴Caesar, *De Bello Civili* 3.42.3-4 Caesar. . . . de Italicis comitibus desperans, quod. . . . classes ipsius quas hieme in Sicilia, Gallia, Italia fecerat morabantur, in Epirum rei frumentariae causa Q. Titium et L. Canuleium legatum misit, quodque hae regiones aberant longius, locis certis horrea constituit vecturasque frumenti finitimis civitatibus descripsit. Item Lissu Parthinisque et omnibus castellis quod esset frumenti conquiri iussit.

¹³⁵See note 134.

¹³⁶Cod. Th. 7.4.15 Sicut fieri per omnes limites salubri prospectione praecipimus, species annonarias a vicinioribus limitibus provincialibus ordinatis ad castra conferri.

¹³⁷See note 134.

¹³⁸Vegetius 2.9 Si miles crimen aliquod admisisset auctoritate praefecti legionis a tribuno deputabatur ad poenam. Arma omnium militum, item equi, vestes, annona ad curam ipsius pertinebat.

¹³⁹Digest 49.16.12. 3 Officium tribunorum est vel eorum qui exercitui praesunt. . . . frumentationibus commilitonum interesse, frumentum probare, mensuram fraudem coercere.

REVIEW

A History of Christian-Latin Poetry From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. By F. J. E. Raby. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press (1927). Pp. xii + 491.

Mr. Raby's excellent book, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, is intended both for students of medieval literature and for students of the general history of the Middle Ages. It supplies a long-felt need, and is especially timely, in view of the fact that medieval studies are experiencing a revival.

Mr. Raby attempts to trace in outline the development of Christian-Latin poetry from its beginnings to the fourteenth century (Preface, vii). As he himself puts it (452), he traces

...the course of Christian Latin poetry through the space of a thousand years, from its beginnings in the middle of the third century . . . to its culmination in those two centuries, the twelfth and the thirteenth, which mark at once the height of the Catholic civilization of the Middle Ages and the starting-point of the Renaissance.

Mr. Raby's account thus closes with a discussion of the *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae*, two of the most sublime productions of the Middle Ages. Since by the fourteenth century the national languages of Europe began to assert themselves more strongly than in the previous centuries, the Latin language had to yield its position of predominance, and to give way to poetic productions in the vernacular languages, as is best seen in the poetry, for instance, of Dante in Italy and of Chaucer in England. Hence the point at which Mr. Raby closes his account is exceedingly well chosen. Again, since the poetry of the Middle Ages underwent many changes, the author did well to introduce ample quotations, in order (vii) "...to enable the reader to follow the process of formal development or change, and at the same time to appreciate the quality of the poetical attainment".

The Table of Contents will best illustrate Mr. Raby's division of his subject:

I. The Beginnings of Christian-Latin Poetry (1-43); II. Prudentius (44-71); III. The Christian Poets of Gaul and Africa in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries (72-100); IV. The Christian Poets of Italy in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries (101-120); V. The Transition to the Medieval World (121-153); VI. The Carolingian Renaissance (154-201); VII. German Religious Poetry in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (202-229); VIII. Italian Religious Poetry of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries (230-256); IX. French Poets of the Cathedral Schools, Eleventh Century (257-287); X. The Twelfth Century (288-344); XI. Adam of S. Victor and the Regular Sequence (345-375); XII. The Thirteenth Century (376-414); XIII. The Franciscan Poets (415-457); Additional Notes (459-460); Bibliography (461-485); Index (487-491).

It will be seen that the author does not immediately begin with the subject proper. That would, in fact, have been a mistake. A comparison between Christianity and Hellenistic-Roman civilization opens the book (1-11). In this section stress is laid upon education, since the Schools were, so to speak, the last

stronghold of pagan culture (4). In addition, attention is paid to the changes in the language, which, having ceased to be the language of a Cicero and a Quintilian, "... was transformed to meet the needs of a new civilization" (8). After this brief introduction, Mr. Raby passes to the subject proper, by discussing the earliest Christian-Latin poets, including Commodianus, Lactantius, Victorinus, Iuvencus, and Damasus, all of whom followed, in most respects, the tradition of the declining classical world (19). He then passes to St. Augustine, who stands between the ancient world and the Middle Ages, and to a discussion of the Origins of Latin Rhythmical and Rimed Poetry (20-28). I am inclined to think that the date "ca. 600", which Mr. Raby gives (26) for the grammarian Virgilius Maro, is too early, and I am glad to find the support of M. Manitius¹ and J. E. Sandys² in the opinion that Vergilius lived in the seventh century. Interesting also is the discussion of the use of hymns in the Latin Church (28-32). This discussion precedes the account of St. Ambrose (32-41), with whom the history of the hymns in the West begins (32). With an account of Hilary of Poitiers (41-43)³ the first chapter closes. It may be remarked that it is the purpose of the author (27), beginning with St. Ambrose, to "... trace the development of Christian Latin poetry, not merely from the point of view of form and technical structure, but also in relation to the religious and intellectual conditions under which it was produced".

Beginning with Chapter II, the author treats mediæval poetry as it developed in various countries. Thus Prudentius represents Spain (44-71). In Chapter III we find such familiar names as Ausonius (72-75), Sidonius Apollinaris (79-82), and Venantius Fortunatus (86-95). The Christian poets of Africa are represented by Dracontius (96-99) and Verecundus (99-100).

Of the Italian poets (Chapter IV) Paulinus of Nola stands out (101-107). So, too, does Sedulius, with his Vergilian turns of expression (109). Boethius is sketched only briefly (111-114), rightly, since an account of his philosophy does not belong in this book. Of importance in this connection is Ennodius (115-117); his works show that even in the fifth century the pagan tradition was very strong in Italy.

Chapter V describes the Age of Gregory the Great, whom Mr. Raby excellently characterizes (122), as an "... Augustine without the classical tinge..." Gregory's writings contributed to the barbarization of Latin. From the literary point of view this age can be considered one of intellectual decline (124-125). In this chapter Mr. Raby returns to the Spanish poets, thus supplementing his discussion of Prudentius in Chapter II, and to the Mozarabic Hymnary (125-132). We find here also a discussion of the Irish poets (132-140) and of the Anglo-Saxon poets (140-153).

Among the latter, Aldhelm, Aethelwald, and the Venerable Bede are considered.

One of the finest chapters in the book is the sixth, on the Carolingian Renaissance. During this period a revival of classical studies took place; the bulk of the poetry of this period is rather secular in tone (156), although the poets considered themselves primarily churchmen and theologians. In this period we find such great names as Alcuin (159-162), Paul the Deacon (162-166), and that of the most important poet of Charlemagne's school, Theodulf of Orleans (171-177), whose poetry is a mirror of the Carolingian Age. The generation of poets after Charlemagne shows erudition and industry, but their outlook is more theological. In this age also the center of culture shifted to Germany and to Lorraine (178). There follows a fine discussion of Raban Maur (179-183), Walafrid Strabo (183-189)⁴, Gottschalk of Fulda (189-192), Sedulius Scotus, Florus of Lyons, and others (193-201). All these are representatives of later Carolingian poetry.

German religious poetry in the tenth and the eleventh centuries (Chapter VII) is characterized by monastic productions, especially by liturgical Sequences, for which the school of St. Gall was famous. Here we find a scholarly discussion of the origins of the Sequence (210-219) and of the Tropes (219-223).

Italian religious poetry (Chapter VIII) of the ninth and the tenth centuries is represented chiefly by the poets of Monte Cassino (236-249). Among them Alphanus is the most remarkable figure, inasmuch as he represents the humanistic revival in eleventh-century Italy (245; compare also 249); here, too, belong the ascetic poets, among whom the famous Peter Damiani occupies an eminent place (250-256).

In spite of the breaking up of Charlemagne's Empire, the influence of the schools which were attached to monasteries and to cathedrals continued in France. In the tenth and the eleventh centuries cathedral schools fostered liberal studies and "... were the true forerunners of the universities of the thirteenth century" (258). To the influence of these schools Chapter IX is devoted. The classical student will be interested to know that the eleventh century raised the standards of Latin style; proof of this is seen later, for instance, in the works of John of Salisbury, who studied in France (258, 296). He will be interested also to know that Christian poets were read hand in hand with the ancient poets (260). Among the poets treated in this chapter are Fulbert of Chartres (258-264), Hildebert of Lavardin (265-273), Marbod of Rennes (273-277), Baudry of Bourgueil, and Geoffrey of Vendôme (277-287).

The treatment of the twelfth-century poetry (Chapter X) is preceded by a general survey of twelfth-century Latin verse, including the Carmina Burana (294-296). Mr. Raby then proceeds to the French poets, whom he treats under two headings, (1) Philosophers, (2) Men of Letters (296-310). Besides others he discusses Alan of Lille (297-303), and the

¹Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 1.119 (Munich, Beck, 1911).

²A History of Classical Scholarship, 1.450 (Cambridge: At the University Press [1921]).

³For a new edition of Hilary's Hymns see W. N. Myers, The Hymns of Saint Hilary of Poitiers in the Codex Aretinus, with Introduction, Translation and Notes (University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, Philadelphia, 1928).

⁴The title of one of Walafrid's works is not Hortulus, as given by Mr. Raby (185, 195), but Liber de Cultura Hortorum. Walafrid was inspired to write this work by his reading of Columella. See Manitius, 1.309.

Poets of Cluny (310-319); among the latter Peter the Venerable occupies a conspicuous place. Special sections are devoted to the Hymns of Abelard (319-326) and to Bernard of Clairvaux (326-331). After the French poets Mr. Raby treats the English poets of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, for instance John de Hanville and Serlo of Wilton (332-344).

Chapter XI is *quasi libri cumulus*. It contains a fine discussion of the Sequence in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries and of the Symbolism of the Virgin Mary. Adam S. Victor, who brought the Sequence to perfection, is thus characterized (354):

In estimating Adam's poetical achievement we are bound to admire the wonderful facility of his versification, the smoothness of his rhythm, and the skilful handling of rime. In these proses, indeed, medieval rhythmical verse reached its greatest formal perfection. Henceforth, there could be no thought of a serious return to the classical tradition for the inspiration of liturgical verse. A new style had been at last forged and perfected, capable of expressing, in Adam and the poets of his school, the precision of doctrinal truth with a fitting liturgical solemnity. . . . Adam and his school are the exponents of form, the classical masters of rhythmical verse. . . .

Chapter XII treats, in the first place, the English poets, Alexander Neckham, John Garland, John of Hoveden (376-395), Philip de Grève (395-401), and the poetry of Thomas Aquinas and of the Eucharist (402-414). The book closes with a fine discussion of the Franciscan Poets (Chapter XIII). The Franciscan movement and its influence upon literature and art meet with a very fine appreciation and valuation. The bulk of this chapter is devoted to Jacopone da Todi (*Stabat Mater*) and Thomas of Celano (*Dies Irae*).

Mr. Raby's book is a real contribution to the study of medieval literature, although the author maintains in his Preface (viii) that he started "...with too much confidence and too little experience a voyage of discovery in what was, for him, an almost unknown country". To this statement the reviewer cannot subscribe, although he fails to find in the book an account of the religious drama, and of Hrotswitha in particular, of whom only passing mention is made (208-209), though she deserves equal consideration

with the other authors. This is, however, not a criticism, but a suggestion for a second edition. Otherwise, the author shows a fine knowledge of the subject, independent judgment, and the ability to present problems in a readable way. In addition, the book contains an abundant Bibliography (461-484) and profuse quotations, in Latin, from the authors. This latter feature, to use Professor Shorey's words³, "...will spare all but specialists the necessity of purchasing or consulting either an anthology or the original texts". One really cannot expect more.

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³Classical Philology 23 (1928), 412.